

2 **Medicinal Cannabis and the Tyranny of Distance: Policy Reform**  
3 **Required for Optimizing Patient and Health System Net Benefit**  
4 **in Australia**

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9 In the evolution of any novel concept, there is a spectrum in  
10 the rate at which individuals adopt a new idea, a diffusion of  
11 innovation stretching from innovators to laggards [1]. Such a  
12 distribution is emerging globally in the rapidly evolving field  
13 of medicinal cannabis (MC). Countries such as Israel, the  
14 Netherlands and, more recently, Canada could be regarded as  
15 innovators [2, 3]. They have taken pragmatic health system-  
16 based responses to the needs of patients, facilitating access to  
17 those with highest expected net clinical benefit while con-  
18 ducting trials and studies in parallel. Even the USA, with its  
19 patchwork quilt of innovation and lack of federal oversight,  
20 is developing insights into what works for their patient  
21 populations, and what doesn't [4].

22 In contrast, Australia cannot be regarded as an innovator  
23 while obstacles continue to thwart the creation of an effi-  
24 cient, patient-oriented system, despite intentions of Federal  
25 legislation passed in February 2016 [5]. Obstacles thrown  
26 up are at least evolving, from dated questions such as the  
27 validity of using botanical products to treat medical con-  
28 ditions, to allegations that those same products cannot be  
29 dosed appropriately. Yet reasons for denying access

continue to confound recreational and medicinal cannabis, 30  
either deliberately or through ignorance. The suggestion 31  
that a medicinal cannabis compassionate access 32  
scheme risks being diverted into the hands of recreational 33  
consumers should be treated with derision in a country 34  
where recreational cannabis is already easily obtainable 35  
and medicinal cannabis is grown and produced for thera- 36  
peutic rather than psychotropic effects. 37

The lack of health system access in general is not a 38  
consequence of there being negative research findings, but 39  
rather a concerted attempt over most of the last century to 40  
prevent and stifle research into therapeutic effects [6]. To 41  
further elucidate and optimise the potential of medicinal 42  
cannabis across all symptoms related to the body's endo- 43  
cannabinoid system in enabling organ system homeostasis, 44  
there is no doubt that further research is needed. However, 45  
there is also no doubt that there are prevalent compas- 46  
sionate access patient populations in Australia that can gain 47  
substantial net clinical benefit and health systems net 48  
benefit right now as in other countries in practice as well as 49  
in trial settings [7, 8], given synthesis of current interna- 50  
tional knowledge and evidence [2–4, 7–15]. 51

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**1 Synthesising International Scientific, Trial 52**  
**and Practice Evidence 53**

So what is the evidence that has arisen in the lands of 54  
innovators, free from the tyranny of distance? In February 55  
2017, in the most comprehensive international review to 56  
date, the US National Academy of Science (NAS) report 57  
[4] found definitive highest tier evidence of MC effec- 58  
tiveness in adult populations with: 59

1. Chronic pain (by far the most prevalent population for MC use internationally, e.g. 90% of 1.02 million registered MC users in the USA, 70% as a primary symptom [3]);
2. Antiemetic treatment in patients undergoing chemotherapy; and
3. Multiple sclerosis populations, for spasticity.

The NAS review also highlighted the need for public health and health economic evidence synthesis in informing optimal policy responses.

The response of the Australian Government was to announce a ‘review of reviews’, with tremendous reluctance to include ‘non-cancer pain’ in the range of indications reviewed. This lack of consideration and potential for appropriate access is particularly concerning given the very real current endemic problems of long-term opiate use for chronic pain, particularly chronic neuropathic pain. Aside from trial evidence, MC use for pain populations is supported by compelling population evidence of MC programs acting as an exit drug in reducing opioid-related deaths, on average by 24.8% across 13 US states with MC programs between 1999 and 2010, and increasing to 33% by 6 years [9]. Furthermore, Bradford and Bradford show reduction in pain prescription medication use by 12 and 8–13% for other major prescription medications for anxiety, depression, nausea, psychosis and sleep disorder [10].

Importantly, scientific and trial research evidence has found a synergistic phenomenon—referred to as the ‘entourage effect’ within the field—between terpenes and cannabinoids (cannabidiol (CBD), tetrahydrocannabinol (THC) and potentially other minor cannabinoids), which both magnifies therapeutic impacts and minimises side effects [11, 12]. For example, in chronic and intractable palliative and cancer pain populations, the most comprehensive three-arm RCT compared terpene-rich THC and CBD (1:1), THC and opioids alone. In the terpene-rich arm 43% had significant (greater than 30%) pain reduction response, compared with 21% for opioids and 23% for THC alone [12].

Critically, these clear ‘entourage’ benefits imply that pharmaceutical company processing of MC to a narrow, single-agent spectrum of action will not maximise net clinical nor economic benefits from medicinal cannabis. Rather, they support whole plant products or extracts on both clinical and economic grounds. Several internationally renowned companies, in particular Tikun Olam (Israel) and Bedrocan BV (Netherlands), distribute whole plant cultivars and extracts appropriate to indications, with extensive experience in maximising symptom relief and net clinical benefit for MC patients. Their palette of terpene-, CBD- and THC-rich cultivars and extracts are already securely produced with Good Agricultural

Practice (GAP) and using Good Manufacturing Practice (GMP). Dosing is individualised and titrated, in the same way it is for gabapentin [13], with the process codified in Israel in ‘The Green Book’, a prescribing manual for clinicians [14].

Australia is climatically well-suited to the cultivation of higher quality CBD-, THC- and terpene-rich medicinal cannabis varieties, which grow better in the types of microclimates that Australia has in abundance, with appropriate latitudes, natural sunlight, air and space. Alongside better-quality MC for symptom relief, outdoor and greenhouse cultivation with these varieties enables both direct therapy and downstream cost savings compared to indoors. In terms of direct costs, greenhouse and outdoor cultivation in natural sunlight are estimated with RAND analysis to respectively be 40% and 10% the cost of indoor cultivation [15]. In Australia, this would equate to expected distributed therapy cost savings per patient treated of A\$10 a day or A\$3650 per year for appropriate highest quality GAP and GMP varieties grown outdoors, compared to growing these varieties indoors, or relative to ‘value-based’ pricing of current pain management therapies [3, 8]. Distributed therapy cost of appropriate highest quality GMP and GAP domestically cultivated MC varieties (outdoors \$A1–1.25 for average dose of 1 gram per day vs \$A10–12.50 indoors, with cultivation 20% of this cost [15]) reflect factor pricing with normal profits. Imported ‘value based’ pricing relative to current opioid based therapies is estimated as \$A11 per day, or higher with greater effect for MC therapies where patented (synthetic) [3, 8], reflecting super normal profits in appropriating all consumer surplus [8, pp. 255–278; 16, 17].

Consequently, at a population level appropriate health shadow pricing reflecting the true opportunity cost [8, 16, 17] of optimal outdoor grown domestic terpene rich MC plant based therapy leads to expected direct therapy cost savings in Australia of A\$730 million or more annually in a population of 200,000 [8, pp. 299–301]. Trial evidence in intractable pain populations [12] also points to downstream hospital cost savings in patients with better pain relief relative to current opioid therapies (43 vs. 21%  $p = 0.014$ ). Furthermore, in palliative populations, alongside better symptom control, such quality-assured MC is immune-supportive and enables better meeting key palliative care domains compared to alternative therapies [18, 19] in finalising personal affairs with whom they want to be with (family and friends) and in their community of choice (usually at home) without the need for institutional care.

Such health benefits and health system cost savings are expected to grow commensurate with ‘baby boomer’ generation needs for palliative and chronic pain management aiding their successful ageing and health budgets alike [8].

165 While Australia continues to sit on the fence, the MC  
 166 market globally is projected to increase almost fivefold  
 167 from \$USD11.4 billion to US\$55.8 billion by 2025 [2].  
 168 Perhaps this explains why the government is so interested  
 169 in exploring export options prior to ensuring appropriate  
 170 domestic access [20].

171 **2 Why is Medicinal Cannabis Not Currently**  
 172 **Accessible in Australia Given Expected Patient**  
 173 **and Health System Net Benefit?**

174 An argument has been made in Australia that if cannabis is  
 175 to be considered as a medicine, it must be considered as a  
 176 ‘new drug’ rather than as a plant. Australia remains the  
 177 only First World country to attempt this, and without the  
 178 benefit of a specific MC Regulator. A Bill for such a reg-  
 179 ulator was put to committee in 2014, with bipartisan sup-  
 180 port [21], only to be withdrawn on the insistence that  
 181 standing regulatory mechanisms overseen by the Office of  
 182 Drug Control (ODC) and the Therapeutic Goods Admin-  
 183 istration (TGA) would suffice. The success, or rather lack  
 184 thereof, of this approach as far as access and net benefit to  
 185 patient and the health system is now evident. In the absence  
 186 of true federal leadership, states and territories are devel-  
 187 oping their own approaches, as has happened in the USA,  
 188 in an effort to facilitate patient access. An unintended  
 189 consequence for patients and prescribers has been to now  
 190 find themselves facing two tiers of regulations to navigate,  
 191 of which the federal level is likely to change at short notice.  
 192 The removal of MC from Special Access Scheme Category  
 193 A—without patient or prescriber consultation—and its  
 194 subsequent reinstatement as a consequence of the ensuing  
 195 public outcry [22], is an example of the vagaries facing  
 196 patients.

197 What lies beneath this apparent conservatism? One  
 198 must ask Cicero’s question: “Qui bono?”—“Who stands  
 199 to gain”? It is reasonable that Australia, as a significant  
 200 global grower of opium poppy straw in Tasmania, might  
 201 see advantage in treading cautiously, to guarantee com-  
 202 pliance with the International Drug Treaties. However,  
 203 the main party with an interest in this space is the phar-  
 204 maceutical industry. In an era where the misdemeanors of  
 205 the industry, particularly in opiate provision, are now not  
 206 only a matter of common knowledge, but also the cause of  
 207 a global public health crisis, any entity that might  
 208 encroach on the market share for analgesia might be  
 209 considered an economic competitor. The extent to which  
 210 Pharma is inveigling itself in the anti-MC movement in  
 211 the USA is only just becoming apparent, from funding  
 212 electoral ballot positions [23] to subsidising vocal anti-  
 213 MC clinicians [24].

**3 Conclusion**

As Australia contemplates ‘baby boomer’ ageing, it can  
 benefit from reflecting on how the wider world is  
 addressing medicinal cannabis. The rest of the world has  
 not held its collective breath for trial results from Australia  
 before pressing on with patient treatment. In the age of the  
 Internet, immediate communication and a global economy,  
 it is no longer a tenable option for opponents of MC to  
 hope that Australian patients might somehow opt for a less  
 compassionate approach to care than those of their over-  
 seas counterparts. A middle ground exists between those  
 who believe that MC is a panacea for all ills, and those that  
 believe that there is no role for MC for anyone; our ability  
 to navigate the path between the two will be judged by  
 history. If we are not compassionate and clever, brave and  
 kind, history is unlikely to be kind with us.

**Compliance with Ethical Standards**

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